

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 00501 100950Z

22-12

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

OMB-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /071 W

----- 047188

O 100830Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3327

INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

AMCONGEN BOMBAY

CALCUTTA 6502

AMCONGEN MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 0501

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PIN, IN

SUBJECT: SEN. MCGOVERN'S CONVERSATION WITH PM GANDHI: GENERAL
DISCUSSION

REF: NEW DELHI 0500

1. REFTEL SUMMARIZES INDO-US RELATIONS ASPECTS OF SEN. MCGOVERN'S
MEETING WITH PM GANDHI JAN. 9. OTHER TOPICS COVERED ARE
SUMMARIZED BELOW.

2. DOMESTIC INDIAN SITUATION: THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS HAD BEEN
VERY DIFFICULT, MRS. GANDHI SAID. IT TOOK TWO YEARS TO FINISH
WITH PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF THE 1971 WAR. THEN THERE WERE
TWO YEARS OF BAD DROUGHT, PRICE INFLATION, AND RAILWAY STRIKES
WHICH LED HER TO BELIEVE SHE HAD TO COME DOWN "HEAVY-HANDED/....".
SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE EMERGENCY, MRS. GANDHI OBSERVED,
PRODUCTION HAD GONE UP CONSIDERABLY. ELECTIONS NOW
WOULD HAVE DISTURBED THE STABILITY THAT IS BEING GAINED.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 00501 100950Z

HER ADVISORS HAD TOLD HER THAT POSTPONEMENT OF ELECTIONS

WOULD BE POLITICAL SUICIDE. BUT SHE SAID IT WAS MORE IMPORTANT TO CONSOLIDATE GAINS AND PUT THE COUNTRY ON A SOLID BASIS THAN TO HAVE ELECTIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE DESTABILIZED THE COUNTRY. THE RESTRICTIONS WHICH HAD BEEN IMPOSED "CERTAINLY WOULD NOT BE PERMANENT" BUT SHE DID NOT SAY WHEN THEY WOULD BE LIFTED. ALREADY RULES FOR PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE HAD BEEN RELAXED AND, AS A RESULT, DEBATE WAS MUCH FREER AT THE PRESENT SESSION.

3. MRS. GANDHI SAID SHE HAD NOT BARRED POLITICAL PARTIES BUT ONLY EXTREMISTS. ONE GROUP, THE RSS, DID NOT BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY. THERE WAS A PARALLEL TO THE "LEFTIST" POLICIES OF HITLER. EXTREME "LEFTISTS (SUCH AS THE CPML-NAXALITIES) DID NOT BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY EITHER. SHE HAD TO PUT SOME FROM THE EXTREME RIGHT IN PRISON AS WELL. THE RIGHT, FOR INSTANCE, WANTED HER TO INVADE BANGLADESH. THEY DISLIKED THE BORDER REALIGNMENT WITH BANGLADESH AND OPPOSED GIVING CEYLON THE RIGHT TO A SMALL ISLAND, WHICH WAS LITTLE MORE THAN A ROCK.

4. PAKISTAN: THE PRINCIPAL BARRIER TO IMPROVED RELATIONS WAS BHUTTO'S ATTITUDE, MRS. GANDHI INSISTED. REVIEWING THE SIMLA CONFERENCE, SHE SAID THAT PAKISTANIS HAD CONSISTENTLY PUT UP OBSTACLES WHICH THE INDIANS HAD FOUND WAYS AROUND. SHE SAID SHE HAD TOLD BHUTTO THAT THEY HAD TO FIND OUT WHETHER INDIAN AND PAKISTANI INTERESTS WERE COMPLEMENTARY OR CONTRADICTORY. SHE THOUGHT THEY WERE THE FORMER. BOTH WOULD BENEFIT FROM WORKING TOGETHER. BHUTTO, HOWEVER, WENT BACK TO PAKISTAN AND CHANGED HIS MIND AND WAS NOW FOLLOWING A CONTRADICTORY COURSE. THERE WERE SMALL EXAMPLES OF COOPERATION SUCH AS IN TELECOMMUNICATIONS BUT NOTHER BIG.

5. IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO MAKE STEP BY STEP PROGRESS WITH PAKISTAN. THEY HAD LAUNCHED VIRULENT PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN OF "BASELESS" PROPAGANDA AND IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO HAVE MEANINGFUL TALKS. "THEY ARE PREPARING FOR WAR, NO MATTER WHAT THEY SAY", SHE INSISTED. PAKISTAN WAS VERY UNSTABLE. BHUTTO WAS HAVING TROUBLE IN THE SIND, PUNJAB, NORTHWEST FRONTIER, AND BALUCHISTAN. IF AIR RIGHTS TO BANGLADESH WERE ALLOWED, "THEY WOULD TAKE TROOPS ACROSS AND I DON'T

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 00501 100950Z

KNOW WHAT ELSE." MRS. GANDHI SAID SHE DID NOT AGREE WITH THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO BY THE US. "WHEN ARMS ARE AVAILABLE, IT IS HARD NOT TO BE TRIGGER HAPPY OR NOT TO START SOMETHING."

6. BANGLADESH: WHEN BANGLADESH BECAME A PROBLEM IN THE FALL OF 1975, PAKISTAN HAD BEGUN PUSHING THE ISSUE OF AIR RIGHTS WHICH IT HAD NOT FOCUSED ON BEFORE. PAKISTAN HAD BEEN ISSUING PROPAGANDA ABOUT INDIAN TROOPS MASSING ON THE BANGLADESH BORDER.

THIS WAS UNTRUE. THERE HAD BEEN NO TROOP MOVEMENT AND NO NEW TROOPS WERE ON THE BORDER. THERE WAS NO CHANGE FROM THE PRE-COUP SITUATION. A FEW MORE POLICE CHECKPOSTS HAD BEEN INSTALLED FOR CHECKING THE REFUGEE MOVEMENT FROM BANGLADESH.

7. CHINA: CHINA DEFINITELY HAD GEOPOLITICAL AMBITIONS, THE PM SAID. IT WAS PUTTING PRESSURE ON ALL INDIA'S SMALL NEIGHBORS. IN BHUTAN, CHINA WAS DEMANDING LAND WHICH COULD GIVE THEM BETTER ACCESS TO INDIA. THE CHINESE WERE HELPING BURMESE INSURGENTS WITH ADVICE AND WEAPONS AND THE BURMESE GOVT DID NOT HAVE FULL CONTROL OF THE SITUATION. THE PM WELCOMED US INITIATIVES TOWARD CHINA. INDIA ITSELF HAD SUPPORTED CHINA'S ENTRY INTO THE UN SINCE ONE COULD NOT IGNORE ONE-SIXTH OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION EVEN IF ONE HAD DIFFICULTIES WITH THEM. THE CHINESE WERE VERY ANGRY WITH HANOI FOR TRYING TO HAVE AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY AND WERE NOW PUSHING IN LAOS AND THAILAND. IN ALL THESE AREAS, HOWEVER, THE CHINESE WOULD PREFER SUBVERSION AND WOULD NOT SEND THEIR OWN FORCES.

8. USSR: MRS. GANDHI SAID SHE THOUGHT THE SOVIETS WANTED PEACE BUT WERE FRIGHTENED OF CHINA. SHE NOTED MAO HAD SAID WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION WAS INEVITABLE. THE SOVIETS DID NOT HAVE ANY BASES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, SHE INSISTED, AND NOBODY HAD OFFERED THEM ONE. "WE ARE CERTAINLY NOT. BUT IF THE AMERICANS GET A BASE, THE SOVIET UNION WILL CERTAINLY WANT ONE. WE DON'T WANT TO BE SQUASHED BETWEEN TWO SUPERPOWERS. RELATIONS IN THE WHOLE AREA ARE NOW BEING STRAINED."

9. INDIA'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM: THE PROGRAM WILL BE PEACEFUL. MRS. GANDHI SAID SHE WOULD NOT RPT NOT GIVE IN TO ANY PRESSURE TO MAKE THE PROGRAM MILITARY. IN TERMS OF THE REGION, THE THREAT OF CONVENTIONAL WAR WAS GREATER THAN NUCLEAR WAR.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NEW DE 00501 100950Z

10. FAMILY PLANNING: INDIA WAS TAKING STEPS WHICH IT WOULDN'T HAVE TAKEN BEFORE INCLUDING PERHAPS SUCH DRASTIC MEASURES AS DISINCENTIVES TO KEEP THE POPULATION DOWN. AN EXAMPLE, SHE SAID, WOULD BE MEASURES TO "DISSUADE" GOVT OFFICIALS FROM HAVING TOO MANY CHILDREN.
SAXBE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, CODELS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976NEWDE00501
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760009-1072
From: NEW DELHI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760169/aaaaciwo.tel
Line Count: 160
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 NEW DELHI 500
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06 MAY 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <01 SEP 2004 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SEN. MCGOVERN'S CONVERSATION WITH PM GANDHI: GENERAL DISCUSSION
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IN, (MCGOVERN, GEORGE), (GANDHI, INDIRA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006